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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
State Rights Celebration,

AT
CHARLESTON, S. C.

July 1st, 1830.

CONTAINING THE SPEECHES OF THE

Hon. Wm. Drayton & Hon. R. Y. Hayne,

Who were the invited Guests; also of

LANGDON CHEVES, JAMES HAMILTON, JR.
and **ROBERT J. TURNBULL, ESQRS.**

And the Remarks of His Honor the

Intendant, **H. L. PINCKNEY**, to which is added the

VOLUNTEER TOASTS

Given on the occasion.

CHARLESTON;
PRINTED BY A. E. MILLER,
No. 4 Broad-street.
1830.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Great State Rights Celebration.

On Thursday July 1st, agreeably to previous arrangements, a Public Dinner, was given at the City Hall, by FRIENDS OF THE SOUTHERN STATES, to the Honorable ROBERT Y. HAYNE, one of the Senators in Congress from this State, and to the Honorable WILLIAM DRAYTON, the Representative in Congress of Charleston District. At 3 o'clock, P. M. the subscribers to the Dinner assembled in the City Square, from which, at a little after 4, they moved in procession, preceded by a fine Band of Music, through Chalmers and Meeting streets, to the City Hall, where they sat down to an elegant entertainment provided for the occasion. The assembly was not only exceedingly numerous, but it was as much distinguished by respectability as by numbers, embracing, as it did, (we will not say, all—because we are not of that party which claims all the talent, eloquence, and respectability of the city,) but certainly a larger portion of each than was ever congregated or displayed on any similar occasion in this city. Of this, the details which follow will furnish abundant and conclusive evidence. Very nearly six hundred individuals subscribed. Not only was the large and spacious Hall literally crowded, but (what was never known to have been done before,) tables, equally crowded, were arranged around the Gallery, and even spread in one of the Rooms usually occupied by the Public Boards of the City. The assemblage, numerous as it was, would have been considerably augmented, had not the excessive heat of

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the day, and the impossibility of procuring accommodation, deterred many from attending who had purchased Tickets, and who were with the company in spirit and in heart.

The Hall was splendidly and judiciously arranged for the occasion. The tables were so disposed as to place the two guests nearly in the centre of the room, a position which enabled the immense company assembled, to hear distinctly the sentiments those gentlemen uttered. Six richly adorned canopies, composed of national banners interwoven with wreaths of evergreen, were conspicuous in different parts of the room, above the seats of the various officers. On the spire of the principal canopy, under which were the presiding officer and the two guests, was perched an Eagle with expanded wings, from the beak of which hung a transparency, having on it in large letters, "STATE RIGHTS." This was at the North of the room. At the East, South and West were other transparencies of the same size, displaying the motto of one of the gentlemen to whom the festival was given, "Liberty—the Constitution—Union."

Twelve Corinthian pillars were erected round the room, gracefully festooned with variegated flowers and branches. Portraits of several distinguished citizens of the State and Country adorned the walls. Amongst the most conspicuous we recognized those of Washington, Jackson, Gen. C. C. and Gen. Thomas Pinckney, John C. Calhoun, Henry Laurens, Benjamin Franklin, John Randolph of Virginia, and OUR OWN MOULTRIE, around whose intrepid brow twined gracefully the Palmetto, the emblem of *his* valor, and the just pride of *our* State. In the centre window of the second story of the Hall, was placed a brilliant and well executed transparency 10 feet in height, exhibiting a *Figure of Liberty*, surrounded by a *rising cloud*. The figure is supposed

to see the cloud increasing, which threatens to conceal the brightness of her countenance, and to destroy for ever the glories of her reign on earth, but she leans with confidence on *South-Carolina*, the *Arms* of which State are at her side, displaying in glowing characters her well known motto,

ANIMIS OPIBUSQUE PARATI.

The whole arrangements reflect much honor on the patriotic spirit that designed them, and entitle him to the warmest thanks of the State Right party in the city.

HENRY L. PINCKNEY, (Intendant of the City,) presided at the Dinner, assisted by JAMES HAMILTON, jun., HENRY DEAS, LANGDON CHEVES, JOHN GADSDEN, ROBERT J. TURNBULL, and JACOB F. MINTZING, Esquires, as Vice Presidents.

After the cloth was removed, the following TOASTS were announced, and drank by the company with indescribable enthusiasm :—

1. *The Union*—The elements of its durability are to be found in its performing honestly, faithfully, and justly the beneficent purposes for which it was formed. [3 cheers.

2. *Washington*—We honor his memory too much to prostitute the authority of his name, by employing it as the sanction of sectional injustice and rapacity.

3. *The Memory of Thomas Jefferson*—The Declaration of Independence in 1776—His Kentucky Resolutions in 1798—a bright commentary on a glorious text. [6 cheers.

4. *The American Revolution and its offspring the American Constitution*—Achieved and formed by thirteen sovereign States; they did not throw away the blessings of the former by authorizing an unlimited government under the latter. [6 cheers.

5. *Andrew Jackson*—Honor and gratitude to his name—He has repulsed the invaders of the Constitution.—If the States are true to themselves, a triumphant victory awaits us. [9 cheers.

6. *William Drayton*—Able, faithful and eloquent. South Carolina cherishes him as a son disciplined in her best schools of chivalry and honor—With de-

voted firmness he has pursued the dictates of his conscience in opposition to the request of a respected portion of his constituents—We honor him for his independence.

When the long and deafening applause with which this Toast was received had subsided, Col. DRAYTON rose and addressed the company as follows:—

Fellow-Citizens.—Accept my grateful thanks for the approbation which you have been pleased to express of my public conduct, and of the motives by which it has been directed. At all times I earnestly seek to learn the sentiments of my constituents.—They are entitled to all the services which I can render them ; and to require, as a general rule, that in rendering those services, I should conform to their wishes ; but, wh never, after mature deliberation, I have arrived at the conclusion, that I cannot comply with them without violating my official oath, or the principles of moral right ; whenever the question arises between my conscience and the will of my constituents, that question must be solved by my duty to my God. This opinion I have so frequently uttered, that I have every reason to believe, that a majority of those whom I represent, are acquainted with it. Should I be mistaken, I gladly avail myself of this occasion to declare it. Political errors I may often have committed. With the concealment of my political principles, no one can, justly, charge me.

The topics most interesting to South Carolina, to which I have lately given my attention in Congress, are the Tariff, and what are termed “Internal Improvements.” It being well known, that I consider the law imposing duties upon imports for the exclusive benefit of the domestic manufacturer, to be unconstitutional and deeply injurious to the great mass of the community ; and that I regard “Internal Improvements” as they have long been acted upon, to be attended with a wasteful and ruinous expenditure of the public treasure for private purposes, and to be at variance with the spirit of the federal compact, I shall not now enter into a discussion of these subjects, but confine myself to a brief examination of the consequences which have flowed from them. An excitement growing out of these subjects, more especially out of the first of them, has pervaded all parts of our State, and has made so profound an impression upon the public mind, as almost to absorb every other political con-

sideration. Our citizens, suffering under an Act, which a great majority of them believe to be unconstitutional, have naturally been led to deliberate upon the steps which ought to be taken, under circumstances so critical and momentous. Of the expedients proposed, that which seems, most generally, to be relied upon, is, through the medium of the Legislature, or of a convention chosen by the people, to nullify the obnoxious law, or in other words, to declare it to be unconstitutional, and to absolve our citizens from obedience to it, unless a contrary decision should be pronounced by three-fourths of the Legislatures of the several States, or by convention of the people, in the same number of the States. Those who recommend this course are sanguine in their expectations of its efficacy. They assert that a sovereign State, under its reserved rights, can *constitutionally*, resort to it, and that by no other means can the Union be preserved. If by any process of reasoning, of which I am capable : if by any lights which I could derive from intellects far superior to mine, I could accord in these views and inferences, I should rejoice to do so ; for no one condemns more than myself, the principle of the existing Tariff, or more deprecates its baneful effects. Nevertheless, after anxious and painful meditation, directed by every motive which ought to influence a lover of his country, and of his country's reputation and prosperity, I cannot perceive any substantial distinction between the abrogation of a law of Congress, by a State, & the separation of that State, from the Union. When an Act of Congress has been passed, in its customary forms, until repealed by the body enacting it, or decided to be invalid by the Federal Judiciary, it becomes the law of the land. The President of the United States is compelled, by his oath of office, to enforce it, unless, perhaps, he should be satisfied of its unconstitutionality, which is not the opinion of President Jackson, as to the Tariff of 1828. Should then the President, or the mandate of the Federal Court, direct it to be carried into execution, it could not be resisted by us, excepting upon the ground, that our State had withdrawn from the federation, or by the exercise of force. The first alternative would be, ipso facto, a severance of this State from the Union.—The second, would be an appeal to arms, the *ultima ratio reipublicæ*.

Let me not be misconceived. I am not the advocate of passive obedience and non-resistance. In the ordinary administration of affairs, the assertion of the right of the majority to bind the people, is a mere truism; but a majority, as well as a minority may be a faction; and where the legislature is accused of usurpation, or corruption, or oppression, to contend that the will of a prevailing majority should alone be evidence of the legality of their proceedings, would render hopeless all possibility of relief. A crisis might arise, when the bonds of the union ought to be broken. The right of the State to *secede* from the Union, I, unqualifiedly, concede; but so long as she *belongs* to it, if she be not bound by its laws, the monstrous anomalies would exist, of a government whose acts were not obligatory upon its citizens; and of a State constituting one of the members of the Union, whilst denying the authority of its laws.

I am not unaware of the conviction of many, that the consequences anticipated by me, would not follow from a nullification of the tariff-act, in the mode which has been mentioned—that, on the contrary, the repeal of the law would be insured by so vigorous a resolution. To those who are under this conviction, I would submit, that it is founded upon the supposed weakness of their opponents—a position as false and dangerous in politics as it is in war, and utterly unworthy of the high-minded freemen of South-Carolina. Unless a majority of the people of the United States were persuaded, that their interests were advanced by the mis-called “American System,” it would never have been imposed upon us by successive Congresses, from 1816 to 1830. Is it probable, that this majority, stimulated by the lust of avarice, and sustained by the arm of power, would yield to the legislation, or to the menaces of a single State?

It might be asked of me, whether I would recommend silence and inactivity amidst the wrongs with which we are afflicted. My answer is—No. What can, constitutionally, be done by the legislature, ought to be done by it. Through Congress, and the Press, and communications with those States whose cause is common with ours, every possible exertion should be made, to dispel the delusion, under which the people labour, as to the true character of an unconstitutional law, which fetters our industry, cripples our commerce. and taxes the many for the benefit of the few. All are injured by it, excepting

the manufacturers; and although they, when combined, can carry the majority with them, yet recent events strongly indicate, that by attacking the Tariff, in detail, we may bring it back to those principles from which it ought never to have departed.

Should the efforts which I have suggested, fail of success—should the law we complain of, remain unrepealed upon our statute-book—we should then enquire, whether a recurrence to the remedy which I have adverted to, would not be worse than the malady which it professes to cure—whether its certain consequence would not be disunion—whether disunion would not be fraught with more disastrous results than the provisions of the act—whether it would not create a division in our own State, producing that direst of national calamities—civil war. After pondering dispassionately and profoundly upon these questions, we are bound by every social and moral duty, to select the least of the evils presented to us. For my own part, I feel no hesitation in avowing, that I should regard the separation of South-Carolina from the Union, as incalculably more to be deplored, than the existence of the law which we condemn.

I have thus, fellow-citizens, communicated to you my sentiments upon an all-engrossing subject. When I look around me and see many to whom I am united by the ties of blood—many who are my valued personal friends—and some, with whom I have acted, harmoniously, in political struggles, I am unable to convey an adequate idea, in words, of the pain which I feel, in expressing opinions which, I believe, to be at variance with theirs. I have, nevertheless, done this violence to myself, from the conviction, that in times of public excitement, the opinions of no citizen should be concealed; and because my constituents have the right to know my thoughts, in order that they may determine whether I am worthy to represent them. I most willingly submit myself to their verdict, confident, and I trust not vainly so, that they will give me credit for having fully, candidly, and fearlessly, spoken from the dictates of my heart.

Mr. President, the colours floating around these walls, have suggested to me a toast, which I beg leave to offer, instead of the one which I had prepared for this meeting.

“May our star-spangled banner, so often, triumphantly, unfurled upon the ocean and the land, ever wave, with undiminished lustre, over free, sovereign and *united* States.”

7. *Robert Y. Hayne*.—A vigilant and gallant sentinel on our Watch Tower.—His brilliant and powerful defence of the constitution against licentious construction, and the South from unfounded slander, entitles him to our warmest gratitude and applause.

This Toast was also drank with enthusiastic and long continued cheering—after which Gen. HAYNE addressed the meeting to the following effect:—

I know not, fellow-citizens, how adequately to express my deep sense of the honor which you have this day conferred upon me. When I look around and behold this vast assemblage, composed of native and adopted *sons of Carolina*—of whom our common mother may so well be proud—and reflect, that this “goodly company,” embracing so much of character and talent, of private worth and public virtue, have come together for the purpose of expressing their approbation of the public conduct of my excellent and valued friend (Col. Drayton) and myself, I want words to convey to your hearts, the emotions which agitate my own. I have nothing to offer you, gentlemen, but my poor thanks, with this assurance, that whatever may be the “changes and chances” of my future life, I shall ever fondly cherish a grateful recollection of your kindness, and will find in it, a strong incentive to the faithful discharge of my duties.

Believe me, gentlemen, no Representative of South-Carolina has, of late, reposed upon “a bed of roses,” and perhaps there never was a period in the history of our country, when the cordial “well done” of generous constituents, was more grateful to the hearts of their public servants, more necessary to sustain them in their cause, and to encourage them in “holding fast to the faith.” Condemned as they have been, to witness the failure of all their efforts in defence of your rights and interests, and coming to you, not as the heralds of “glad tidings,” but as the messengers of defeat and disaster, this *generous reception* is in the very spirit that has made immortal that Roman Senate, which decreed their highest honors to him who had stood by his country in the hour of her “utmost need,” and who though vanquished, “had not despaired of the Republic.” Such offerings, gentlemen, are indeed “doubly blessed, blessing him that gives and him that receives.” And here, perhaps, I might stop. But when I re-

member that in the Resolutions which ushered this festival into public notice, it was declared to be a tribute by "the friends of STATE RIGHTS, to *the principles* which have been promulgated by the Legislature of South-Carolina," and when I know that I am chiefly indebted for the flattering sentiment which has just been offered, to the humble part I have acted in support of those principles, I feel that I should disappoint your just expectations, if I passed entirely over a topic of such paramount interest and importance.

What then, gentlemen, are the principles involved in this doctrine of "State Rights"? They are the great fundamental principles of *Constitutional Liberty* for which our fathers fought and bled, and conquered—which were recognized, and (as we did fondly hope) firmly established by the adoption of the Constitution of the United States—and on the maintenance of which depend the peace, prosperity and safety of our beloved country. *Our doctrines* are (and I quote them from our political text book, the Virginia Resolutions of 1798) that the several States are "independent sovereignties"—that the Constitution of the United States is "*a compact to which the States are parties*"—that as the Federal Government derives its existence, and all of its powers from that instrument, "its acts are no further valid than they are authorized by the grants *enumerated in that compact*," and that in case of "a palpable, deliberate, and dangerous exercise of other powers not granted by said compact, *the States*, who are parties thereto, *have the right to interpose*, for arresting the progress of the evil, and for maintaining within their respective limits, the authorities, rights, and liberties appertaining to them." The opponents of these doctrines contend that the Constitution was formed not by *the States* in their sovereign capacity, but by *the people* collectively—that the "National Government," being thus created by all the people, have a right to decide, (in the emphatic language of the great leader of their party) "*ultimately and conclusively as to the extent of their powers*," and hence results, as the basis of the whole system, the duty of an *absolute acquiescence* on the part of the *minority*, in the declared will of the *majority*. It does appear to my mind "passing strange," that any man should fail to perceive that according to these principles, the Government of these United States is one great consolidated,

National Government—having no practical limitation on its powers but the popular will, and that to talk of “State Rights” is the most ridiculous and unmeaning jargon; it is something worse—it is the language of bitter sarcasm and solemn mockery. If “a sovereign and independent State,” has no right to judge of the violations of a compact into which she has entered—if, when “usurped powers” are exercised over her citizens, she has no right, however flagrant the usurpation, “to interpose to arrest the progress of the evil”—if the Federal Government (the mere creature of the Constitution) may, with impunity disregard all its limitations, and the States are bound implicitly to submit, then, indeed, I am yet to learn, in what “State Rights” consist. Do they consist in “the powers not granted,” or “expressly reserved” under the Constitution? The Federal government having *the right* to decide, “ultimately and conclusively,” on these matters, will say to us, *by their practice*, that all has been given, and none reserved—and if it be the duty of the States implicitly to submit, “State Rights may exist as an *abstraction*, in the minds of gentlemen, but they exist no where else, and for my own part, I am utterly unable to appreciate the value of a theoretical *right* which is to be held at the mercy of another, and for the enforcement of which there exists no *remedy*. According to this doctrine, the States have a right to exercise just so much power (and no more,) as the Federal Government may think proper to leave them, and we are presented with the strange anomaly of “the *creature* elevated above its creator, the servants above their masters.” If such be the true character of the Federal Government, the experiment of the security to be derived from written charters has already most signally failed, and the people “on whom, in the providence of God, has been cast the preservation of the great principle,” have proved recreant to their trust, and have surrendered the last citadel of freedom. I shall not stop to enquire in what department of the Federal Government this despotism is supposed to exist. The idea that the *Supreme Court* is to be the safeguard of the reserved rights of the States, can delude those only, who close their ears to the acknowledged fact, that in most of the cases where usurped power has been exercised or is apprehended, (such for instance as the Tariff of protection, and the appropriations of money for Internal Im-

provements, Education, Charities, Colonization or Emancipation) the question cannot even be brought before the Supreme Court according to the forms of the Constitution, and it is certainly in the power of Congress so to frame their laws and so to regulate their Courts as to prevent them from interposing to "arrest the progress of usurpation" in any case whatsoever.

When we cast our eyes over the map of the United States, and behold a territory of such vast extent, inhabited by a people of such diversified pursuits and interests, of habits and of feelings, can it be possible that the "will of the majority" shall be practically adopted as the rule of Government for all of the parts, without its degenerating into the most odious and desolating tyranny. Look at the condition of the Southern States, having the system of *slavery* so interwoven with their institutions that even to touch the subject is to involve them in ruin; and depending upon foreign markets for the sale of their valuable productions. Can it be believed, that the wise & patriotic men who represented the South in the Convention which framed the Constitution, would have consented in our behalf, to sign a bond by which it was to be submitted to a majority of the people, or what is more, a majority of their Representatives in Congress assembled, whether our institutions should be preserved, and our pursuits of industry remain unchanged, or whether we might be deprived of both, under the operation of Acts of Congress, based upon vague notions of the "general welfare?"

Gentlemen, in the presence of this respectable assembly, and in the face of my country, I declare my solemn conviction, that the acknowledgement of the *exclusive right* of the Federal Government to *determine the limits of its own powers*, amounts to a recognition of its *absolute supremacy* over the States and the people, and involves the sacrifice not only of our dearest rights and interests, but the very existence of the Southern States; and if, by the blessing of Heaven, we shall yet a little while avoid the fate which is impending over us, we are as surely *destined to meet it*, "as the sparks fly upwards." In my view of the actual condition of your affairs, (without undertaking to determine what else it may become you to do, or to forbear,) it is absolutely and indispensably necessary to give your brethren in other quarters of the Union, distinctly to understand,

that you never will acknowledge the right claimed for the Federal Government, in either or all of its departments, to decide "ultimately and conclusively as to the extent of its own powers," that you never will consent to substitute the will of the majority for the Constitution, nor recognize unconstitutional acts of Congress, as the supreme law of the land. That viewing the Constitution as a compact prescribing limits to the Federal Government, the State of South Carolina, as one of the parties to that compact, in its sovereign capacity, *claims the right* "to judge of its infractions;" and that whilst she will at all times yield a ready and cheerful obedience to all laws made "in pursuance of the Constitution," she *claims the right* to hold to be utterly null and void, all such as clearly violate the reserved rights of the States. Let these principles be maintained, and your rights may be preserved. The day that you surrender them, and acknowledge the will of the majority, as declared in the acts of Congress, to be the supreme law, you will have surrendered the glorious privileges of freedom, to put the yoke upon your own necks, to fasten manacles upon your own, and the hands of your children, to surrender your valuable possessions without a struggle, and consented to put yourselves and all that you possess at the mercy of those, who though standing to you in the relation, and calling themselves your "*brethren*," have in the eager pursuit of their own peculiar interests, turned a deaf ear to your loud remonstrances, mocked at your complaints, and manifested an utter disregard of your feelings, your rights and your interests.

The *mode*, gentlemen by which these principles are to be brought into operation, when a case shall arise to justify their application, is a question concerning which there may exist much difference of opinion, and which it appears to me of no importance to decide. When the hour for action arrives, the friends of State Rights will hardly be found quarrelling among themselves as to the mode of proceeding. On this point, I say with Mr. Jefferson, that the State has not only a right to "judge of infractions of the Constitution," but also of "*the mode and measure of redress*" [see Kentucky Resolutions of '98] and whether she shall, through the Legislature, or by Convention—by declaring the acts "*void* and of *no force*" or by adopting other measures" maintain "the authorities, rights and

liberties appertaining to her"—are all questions to be decided by those who may have the destiny of the State in their hands. When the emergency shall arrive to require the State, in the opinion of her citizens, to be put upon her sovereignty, I shall hold no man less my brother in the cause of State Rights, because he may differ from me as to the *mode* in which the action of the State is to be brought about. While on this topic, however, I will take occasion to remark, that it has seemed good to those who are laboring to bring State Rights into disrepute, to represent their advocates of the present day as contending for new doctrines, and the changes have been rung upon the "Carolina doctrines," and the "nullifying doctrines," until well meaning men, even among ourselves, have been induced to believe, that they are of modern invention, and that the very term *nullification* has been coined to suit our present purpose. Now, whether the term be a proper one, or not, and whether the doctrine which it is supposed to embrace, be sound, or unsound, it is certain, that they are both as old at least as 1799. The Kentucky Resolutions of that year, generally attributed (like those of '98) to the pen of Thomas Jefferson, contain the following words: (I will *read* them to you gentlemen, to prevent any mistake.) "The several States that framed that instrument, the Federal Constitution, being *sovereign* and *independent*, have the unquestionable right to judge of its infractions, and a *nullification* by those Sovereignities, of all unauthorized acts, done under color of that instrument, is the *rightful remedy*." I presume we shall hear no more of "nullification" being a modern invention, and the "Carolina doctrines," will, perhaps, find more favor in the eyes of some, when traced to the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of '98 and '99. But the true import and extent of this doctrine, it seems to me, has also been greatly misrepresented. The advocates of State Rights have been represented as contending for the right of a State, to repeal at pleasure, all or any of the Acts of Congress, and the consequences of the exercise of such an authority has been made the subject of denunciation and of sarcasm. Now as far as I know, no advocate of State Rights has ever contended that the exercise of the Legislative powers of Congress in relation to the Army, the Navy, Fortifications, the Post Office, the Judiciary, the regulation

of Commerce, in relation to War or Peace, or any other matter, expressly confided by the Constitution to the Federal Government, can be lawfully arrested or stayed by any power whatever. It has never been doubted or denied that the acts of the Federal Government, within the acknowledged sphere of its authority, are obligatory upon the States, nor that the laws of Congress "made in pursuance of the Constitution, are the supreme laws of the land." But it has been contended that in an extraordinary case, where the powers reserved to the States, under the Constitution, are usurped by the Federal government, and it comes to be a question of conflicting claims to sovereignty, it is "the right of a State," and in a proper case, would become "a solemn duty," not only "to judge of the infractions of the Constitution," but to interpose its authority for the preservation of its reserved rights. If the Federal Government shall confine its operations to matters clearly Federal, and in which all of us have a common interest, no collision could possibly arise. It is only when they assume doubtful powers not expressly granted; when they (who alone possess practically the power to make it) refuse "to appeal to the source of power," which Gen. Jackson well considers "as the most sacred of all our obligations"—that it could even become necessary that a State should interpose "for arresting the progress of the evil," until such time as (according to the idea of Mr. Jefferson) "a Convention assembled at the call of Congress, or two-thirds of the States, should decide to which they mean to give an authority claimed by two of their organs." In an extreme case like this, there is no other possible remedy, and it does appear to me that *the existence* of this right will be found indispensable to the preservation of the reserved rights of the State, though its exercise ought to be, and will be restrained by all the considerations of prudence and of patriotism, which must make it the interest, as it will be the duty of a State, not to take such high ground, until the only alternative left is to assume it, or "to submit to a Government without limitation of power."* It does

* Mr. Madison in his Report thus describes the cases which he supposes would call for the interposition of a State "to avert the progress of usurpation." 1st. "Where the violation of the Constitu-

appear to me, in the language of Mr. Madison's Report "that if the deliberate exercise of powers palpably withheld by the Constitution, could not justify the parties to it, to interpose even so far as to arrest the progress of the evil, and to maintain the rights and liberties appertaining to the States, as parties to the Constitution, and thereby to preserve the Constitution itself, there would be an end to all relief from usurped power." This power may be liable to abuse, tho' while the Constitution shall be expounded fairly, and justly administered—and the Union shall be felt as a common blessing, I hardly consider it possible that it should be abused, but however that may be, it is certainly less liable to abuse than the power claimed on the other hand for the federal government; it is less liable to abuse than the power daily exerted by a bare majority of the Judges of the Supreme Court of annulling, not only the acts of Congress, but of every State in the Union—and it is moreover indispensably necessary for the preservation of the reserved rights of the States and of the people, unless it is intended that these shall be held at the mercy of the Federal Government.

I will put a strong case and let gentlemen point out if they can the "rightful remedy," according to their principles. The Treasury being filled by taxes imposed upon you, under all the forms of the constitution, the money is appropriated to purchase the freedom of your slaves, for the purpose of colonizing them in Africa. You are to be paid for your property with money drawn from your own pockets, until the money is exhausted, and your property gone! What is the remedy? According to the principles advocated on the other side, it is *your duty to submit*. The Supreme Court has no jurisdiction over the Act levying the tax (for like the Tariff, it purports to be for revenue,) nor over that appropriating the money. The Federal Government has decided the law to be constitutional—it has been sanctioned by the will of a majority, (the supreme law)—the State has no right "to judge of the infraction," or "to interpose its authority," in any way—what

tion shall be of a nature dangerous to the great purposes for which it was established." 2d. It must be a case "not obscure and doubtful, but *plain and palpable*." And lastly, it must be a case "stamp with deliberate consideration, and *final adherence*."

then?—*You are bound to submit.*—No, say gentlemen, *you must rebel*—you have still “the right of rebellion” left,—a “sovereign State” guilty of *rebellion*! Thus you see, gentlemen, that it comes to this, that a State, or the people of a State have no means left of preserving the rights expressly reserved to them by the terms of the compact, but by incurring the guilt and meriting the fate of traitors, unless indeed their treason shall be sanctified by success, and the free citizens of a sovereign State have precisely the same remedy for the preservation of their constitutional right, as the slaves of some eastern despotism—*rebellion*!

Leaving this topic I proceed to make a few brief remarks in relation to the course which the Representatives from South-Carolina have found themselves called upon to pursue. From the session of '23, '24, when the “American System,” in its two branches of the Tariff and Internal Improvement, became, as we have been told, the settled policy of the country, your Representatives have been compelled to struggle with fearful odds, and under the most discouraging circumstances, against measures which the people of South-Carolina had in their primary assemblies denounced as “unconstitutional, oppressive and unjust,” and which the Legislature, after repeated remonstrances and protests, had solemnly declared to be “so gross a violation of the rights of the people, and so palpable a usurpation of powers not granted, that the measures to be pursued consequent on a perseverance in this system, were purely questions of expediency, and not of allegiance,” and that “they were only then restrained from the assertion of *the sovereign rights of the State*, by the hope that the magnanimity and justice of the good people of the Union, would effect an abandonment of a system partial in its nature, unjust in its operation, and not within the powers delegated to Congress.”* Instructed, Gentlemen, as your Representatives have been, to maintain these sentiments, they have endeavored to support them with a fidelity due to the expression of the deliberate opinions of their constituents, and a zeal proportioned to their conviction of their truth and importance. They have, nevertheless, been condemned to witness the repeated failure of all their exertions; their appeals to the “magnanimity and justice” of their breth-

* Resolution of December, 1828

ren have been made in vain, and they have been left under the painful conviction of the truth of Mr. Jefferson's assertion, that reason and argument in opposition to this system of legalized plunder, might just as well have been addressed "to the marble columns which surround our legislative halls." We have been compelled, Gentlemen, to see the system of *Imposts*, designed by the Constitution for raising revenue, openly perverted to the purpose of laying the agriculture and commerce of the country, and especially of the Southern States, under contribution to the manufacturers. We have seen the system of *Internal Improvement*, which came recommended to us by the fair promise of unnumbered blessings, degraded into a "disgraceful scramble" for the public money, and threatening speedily to become in the prophetic language of Mr. Jefferson, "a source of boundless patronage to the Executive, of jobbing to members of Congress and their friends, and a bottomless abyss of public money—a source of eternal scramble among the members who can get most money wasted in their States, and in which *they will get most who are meanest.*"* We have been constrained to see and to feel, that the whole course of affairs, the entire tendency of things, was to add by construction to the power of the Federal Government, to assume an unwarrantable jurisdiction over our persons and our property, by "organizing the whole labor and capital of the country"—controlling our pursuits of industry, and attempting to bring about an artificial equality, by transferring the profits of the Southern planter to more favored portions of the community. Your Representatives seeing these things passing every day before their eyes, and having no power to arrest their progress, have felt it to be their duty from time to time *faithfully to warn you* of the actual state of affairs. They have exposed to you the true character and extent of the difficulties which surround you; and have told you frankly of the entire failure of their utmost efforts to avert these evils. If standing as "sentinels on the watch tower" of your rights and liberties, they had told you that "all was well," while the enemy was undermining the very foundations of the citadel, they might have reposed in peace; but you would have been roused up when the enemy was upon you,

* Mr. Jefferson's letter to Mr. Madison of March 7th, 1776.

and when all of your efforts to avert the evils of a "consolidated government," would have been in vain.

Your Representatives, Gentlemen, (I say it proudly,) *feel that they have done their duty*; what remains to be done, it is for you, and not for them to decide.

This gloomy picture of our affairs is brightened but by a solitary gleam of light, arising from the rejection, by the Executive, of the Maysville Road.—Yes, Gentlemen, the man who had "filled the measure of his country's glory," has once more thrown himself into the breach—has once more bared his noble bosom in defence of the Constitution and of our liberties, against those who, though regardless of the "*beauty*," are intent upon the "*booty*" of the country,—and God grant, that now as then, the invaders may be driven back, "discomfited and disgraced."

Gen. Jackson in putting his veto upon the Maysville Road Bill has opened to the Southern States the first dawning of returning hope. The reduction of the duties upon salt and molasses and a few other articles, though a measure just in itself, as lessening the burdens of the people, and calculated in some small degree to weaken the ties which bind the members of the American system party together, furnishes in my opinion no ground for any confident expectation, that the system will be broken up, especially in the face of the overwhelming majority by which Mr. McDuffie's motion to repeal the Tariffs of 1828 and 1824 was voted down in the House of Representatives. But the rejection of the Maysville Road, if it can be viewed as a pledge that no work of Internal Improvement is to be prosecuted during the administration of the present Executive, may be hailed as the most auspicious event which has taken place in the history of the country for years past. If we can be permitted to indulge the hope, that the Tariff and Internal Improvements, heretofore united in the unholy hands of an unlawful wedlock, are now to be *divorced*,—if those are to be "put asunder," whom God has not "joined together," then indeed is there cause for rejoicing; for without claiming to be a "Prophet or the son of a Prophet," I think I may predict that the Tariff will not long survive the death of Internal Improvement. United for unholy ends, and subsisting by mutual plunder, it can hardly be doubted that a separation will be the destruction of both. Let us then on this occasion pour

forth the acknowledgements of a nation's gratitude to the author of this good. Great as are the claims of Gen. Jackson to the gratitude of his country, this act has given him new titles to our regard. On no occasion of his eventful life, has he displayed a more generous disregard of all selfish consideration, more exalted patriotism, or more heroic courage, and should this prove to be only *the first step* in a course which is to restore the Constitution to its original principles, and bring back the government to a sound and wise policy, the name of Jackson will go down to posterity as the Washington of "his day and generation." But it does appear to me, that though this act on the part of the President ought to be hailed with acclamation by every lover of his country, it can furnish no apology for an abandonment by us, of the great cause of State Rights. Now when the enemy is in confusion and dismay, are we by laying down our arms to enable him to rally, and return with renovated vigor to the conflict. If we are satisfied with the rejection of the Maysville Road, we can hardly hope for other and greater triumphs. Besides, who can tell, whether the President will be sustained in the perilous conflict in which he has engaged. Already do we find his advocates in the West vindicating his course, on the ground that "the American system" is still to be maintained by the administration in all its vigor, and pointing to the message they adduce, in support of their assertion, the language of the President which *sustains the Tariff*, on the grounds "of its consistency with the letter and spirit of the constitution—of its origin being traced to the consent of all the parties to the original compact, and of its having the support and approbation of the majority of the people," while with regard to Internal Improvement, they point triumphantly to "the admission in the message of the right of appropriating money to Roads and Canals of a *national character*." Language like this coming from such a quarter, is certainly calculated in some degree to chasten the exultation and joy with which this act of the President's has been received by the Southern States.

But I have trespassed. Gentlemen, too long upon your patience, and must hasten to a close. Let me say, then, in conclusion, that I do conscientiously believe, that the assertion of the principles I have vindicated, is essential to the great cause of State Rights, though I believe the abandonment by South-

Carolina of the grounds solemnly assumed and repeatedly avowed by our legislature, will amount to an unconditional surrender of those principles. I wish not to be understood as indicating any particular course as proper to be pursued by the State at this time, and under existing circumstances. As one of the representatives of South-Carolina, I have at all times strenuously advocated these principles, and to the best of my ability, faithfully maintained the rights and interests confided to my care. Further than this, I have not felt myself authorized to go; to the people, and to them alone, it belongs to decide, both now and at all times hereafter, how far and how long it is their interest or their duty to submit to acts of the Federal Government, which all feel to be a violation of their constitutional rights. For my single self, I am free to declare that I cherish a sincere and ardent devotion to the Union, and that to preserve it inviolate, I would willingly lay down my life. But the union which I revere, and which is dear to my heart, is founded on the constitution of my country. It is a Constitutional Union, which we are sworn to "*preserve, protect, and defend.*" I may be mistaken, fellow-citizens, but I have always believed, that nothing is wanting to secure the success of our cause, but *union at home*—such harmony of feeling and unity of action, as shall carry to the minds of our oppressors *the conviction*, that we are *in earnest*—that we "know our rights, and knowing, dare maintain them." And if, Gentlemen, we are destined to fail, and the *South* is to be drawn down from that "high and palmy state" of prosperity, dignity, and renown, which she has so long and so proudly occupied—if she is destined to be humbled in the very dust before her oppressors, I shall live and die in the belief, that the calamity will have been brought upon her, because her citizens have not been *true to themselves*—because we have listened to the voice of those who have no common sympathies with us—or who have an interest in perpetuating the abuses under which we suffer, or who from unreasonable apprehensions of imaginary dangers, will have palsied the hearts, and shaken the constancy of their countrymen.

But whatever may be the course of South-Carolina, at the present crisis, it is my determination *to stand by her side*. When I shall be found acting with her *revilers*, or enlisted under the banner of her *enemies*, may

"my right hand forget its cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth." It is the soil of Carolina, which has drank up the precious blood of our forefathers shed in her defence; *here* repose the honored bones of my ancestors—it is *here* that I drew my first breath—*here* that I have been kindly fostered in youth, and sustained in manhood, by the generous confidence of my fellow-citizens. It is in the soil of Carolina that the eyes of my children first beheld the light. Bound to you, gentlemen, and to my country, by so many and such endearing ties, *let others desert her, if they can; let them revile her if they will*—I shall stand or fall with *Carolina*. God grant that wisdom and virtue, firmness and patriotism, may preside in her councils, and direct her measures; but should she err, I shall not be the recreant son to join in the exultation of her enemies. I shall cast no reproaches into her teeth—but in adversity as in prosperity—"in weal and in woe"—through good report and through evil report—I GO FOR MY COUNTRY."

8. *John C. Calhoun*—With unsullied patriotism and splendid genius he is worthy of the highest honors of his country, but he would scorn to purchase them at the expense of the interest and principles of South Carolina. [6 cheers.]

After the President had given the following Toast the 1st Vice President, (Major HAMILTON) rose and said:—

"Gentlemen, when you see this Toast in print, it will be marked with inverted commas. It is a Toast quoted from those given on a recent occasion at a public dinner given to our distinguished and estimable fellow citizen, Joel R. Poinsett, our late Minister to Mexico. This Toast stuck in somebody's throat—he could not swallow it. Let us see if this company *can go it*. Is there one in this assembly that gains say this? The glowing exultation of your countenances tells me 'No. Not one.'"

9. *Our Delegation in Congress*—"Their efforts have deserved and will achieve success." [6 cheers.]

This Toast was drunk with tremendous cheers.

10. *Our Senior Senator William Smith*—We honor his steady and able support of the rights of the States. [6 cheers.]

11. *Stephen D. Miller*—In feeling acutely the wrongs of South Carolina, he has expressed a sensibility which becomes her Chief Magistrate.

[6 cheers.]

12. *George McDuffie*—With the soul and tongue of Patrick Henry, he has interpreted to the infatuated Belshazzar the hand-writing on the wall.

[6 cheers.]

13. *The Women of South Carolina*—Among the best and fairest of their kind.—They will have no heart for *him* who has no heart for *her*.

[3 cheers.]

VOLUNTEERS.

By Henry L. Pinckney, President of the Day.—Mr. P. said that as the toast of our distinguished Representative had been suggested by the decorations of the room, he would beg leave to borrow another from the same source. He then gave—

"Liberty—The Constitution—Union."

Col. Cunningham, Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, then submitted to the meeting, on behalf of the Committee, the following sentiment, which was received with the utmost enthusiasm.

Langdon Cheves: In returning to South Carolina, he brings back with him a heart which is true to her rights and which feels for her wrongs.

After the cheering had subsided, Mr. Cheves rose and addressed the company as follows—

Gentlemen:—You have done me no more than justice in supposing that I have returned to my native state with the feelings you have attributed to me.—But it is no merit in me to have done so. It would be foul and unnatural were I to feel otherwise. It is nevertheless gratifying to me to learn that my fellow-citizens believe that I feel as I ought to do and that "my heart is in its right place." I have frequently, on recent occasions, poured forth my thanks and my gratitude for your kindness and I shall not therefore repeat them at this time.

It is impossible that any loyal citizen of South Carolina, whether native or adopted, can look on the decay and prostration of his country without grief and indignation, yet there is a joy personal to myself, mingled with these painful sympathies, which I indulge in returning among you. It is, that I come now to share a common fate with you in your misfortunes and sufferings as I shared formerly with you in your joys and your prosperity. I left you exulting and flourishing in the common glory and common greatness of a common and united country. I return to you when you are bowed down and

humbled, before a portion of that country, to colonial suffering, dependence and degradation.

Yes, Gentlemen, what is the condition of this state and of all the Southern States, but one of colonial suffering, dependence and disgrace?

There are no less than seven Sovereign States whose principal Agricultural Staples require a foreign market to be of any value. Their pursuits, at the same time, are exclusively Agricultural and these the only articles which can give value to the cultivation of the soil. The actual legislation by which these interests are bound and controlled, instead of cherishing them, by facilitating the enjoyment of a foreign market, denies the profitable possession of that market and destroys the value of all the great products of your soil. If this were to foster any other interests of the same region of country, there would at least be a mitigating pretext for legislation apparently so extraordinary. But the motive of it is avowedly to encourage the industry and promote the distinct and separate interests of another clime and another people. By whom are these laws enacted? Have you participated? No. From whose legislative will do they derive their efficiency? From yours? not in the smallest degree. Not one vote of all the Representatives in both Houses of Congress, from at least six Sovereign States, in immediate junction and connexion, was given in support of the passage of these laws, and their legislative voice was only heard in protests against their injustice and unconstitutionality. They were enacted by a legislative will (in every just political and moral sense affecting the subject) of a Foreign People! In every such sense, a people as distinct and separate from you (and Geographically too as far from you) as those of Canada.

If the burthens imposed by these laws, when collected in the shape of revenue, were returned, in the expenditures of government, to the people who bear them, they would have some semblance of the legislation of a people self governed, but the vast revenue exacted by them from the suffering States, is expended in the States by whose power and whose pleasure it is imposed. This is of all the effects of bad legislation, the most afflictive and destroying. As well might the blazing orb of day, when sent to warm us, drink up, as it does, the moisture of the soil, and the providential

Jews of night not return it, and yet the fructification of the earth and the gathering of its fruits be hoped for, as to expect a country to thrive where a large revenue is collected and spent abroad.

Now, how would you define a Colonial condition? I would say it presented a people (no matter under what forms of government) who were controlled in their great interests by the legislative will of a people geographically and politically distinct from them.

How, again, would you define an unjust and oppressive colonial government? I would say, that a government which made laws destroying the interests of the dependent State was such a government. If I wished to define a worse government, I would say, that, where such laws were made with a view to promote exclusively the interests of the governing people, the character was abundantly made out; and, if I wished to go further and to describe one under which a country must wither and perish, I would only add, that a vast revenue should be collected in the country in question, and spent abroad!

I have made the analysis and put the facts side by side, that you may run the parallel, and, having done so, say, whether the condition of this State, and of all the Southern States, is not one exhibiting all the essential evils of colonial dependence? Are you less colonial than Canada, for example? The great interests of that country, it is true, are controlled by the legislative will of Great Britain, which has the right, according to received notions of national law, to do so. But so are you governed by a people equally distinct from you, except as you and they are connected by institutions, legal and moral, social and charitable, which forbid the exercise of such a power. But their peculiar interests are fostered—yours are oppressed. They receive bounties—you pay penalties. The burthens the people of that country bear are light—yours are enormous. The revenue collected from them is spent among them. That which you pay is spent abroad.

Let us now look a little into the spirit and manner in which the power of which we complain, is exercised. For this purpose one or two examples will suffice. A very distinguished representative from this State, (Mr. McDuffie) on whom you have just bestowed a high and merited eulogium, standing at the head of the highest Committee of the House of Representatives, reported to the House, as an act of that Committee, a Bill, intended for the purpose of

examining and considering some of the great questions of which the Southern states complain. One of the complaints set forth, it will be recollected, in the Declaration of Independence, was that in your former colonial state, your petitions were disregarded. Let us now see how our present governors treat your present efforts to be heard. Contrary to all Parliamentary usage, before a word is said in support or in explanation of a measure of such grave importance, so solemnly introduced, a member rises, anticipates the organ of the Committee, and moves a question (and it is sustained by the House) which precludes all debate, and decides the main question in the negative. There is not, I fearlessly say, a parallel for this proceeding in the legislation of any free people in modern times. I challenge an investigation of the proceedings of the British Parliament, of Congress and of the Legislatures of the several States of the Union, with the perfect conviction, that no parallel can be found in them for this outrageous proceeding. But this was not enough. Your degradation was to be doubled by repetition and increased by wanton insult.

A distinguished member from Virginia, (Mr. P. P. Barbour) when the *Buffalo Road Bill* was, I believe, indefinitely postponed, a decision which passed it over for the session, and was equivalent to a rejection, ventured to express his joy, that a great evil had been, at least for a time, averted. This was contumacy not to be borne, but to be punished. On the next day a motion was made for reconsideration, and this audacious act of the member from Virginia assigned as the reason, which was carried and the Bill laid upon the table, in a state in which it could at any moment be called up, but not at all with this view, but simply to say to the distinguished mover, slave! you shall not even rejoice in our forbearance.

It is not for an humble individual like me to anticipate legislative wisdom, nor to suggest the time and manner in which a remedy for these evils is to be sought, but, for myself as a private citizen, I declare my belief that they present a state of things not to be borne, and which ought to be resisted, in some way or manner, at any and every hazard. I cannot forbear, however, to add one idea on this subject.

This is a great southern question, in which South Carolina is no more interested than the rest of the

southern states. She may or she may not produce a few bales of cotton and a few barrels of rice more than some other states, but this certainly does not augment the interest she feels in it nor lessen that which they indulge. The question with all of them involves great pecuniary and great public rights—no less than the great rights of free and independent government. We cannot, therefore, either in policy or justice, in my opinion, act without seeking or awaiting their co-operation. This is the more imperiously our duty, if we rely upon their co-operation in any difficulties which may involve the employment of national force. I therefore deprecate a separate action, on the part of this state, at this time, as premature and impolitic. In accordance with these principles, I will, with your leave, give the following toast:

“Southern Rights and Southern Wrongs.—Momentous questions, on which the action of the States aggrieved should be instant and constant, but always together.”

Col. Cunningham then offered, on behalf of the Committee of Arrangements, the following toast, which was also received with long-continued and enthusiastic cheering :—

The Hon. James Hamilton.—His State will never forget his efforts in her behalf. She waits the opportunity of confiding to him her first office.

When the cheering with which this toast was accompanied had ceased, Major Hamilton addressed the company as follows :—

Fellow-Citizens,—I thank you most cordially for the sentiment you have just expressed, which has been received by those assembled here in a manner calculated infinitely to enhance the difficulties of my making you an acknowledgement which would in any degree do justice to my own feelings, if I were even so vain as to suppose I could pay this tribute to your goodness. My self-love shall, however, not transcend my gratitude. I must refer the largest portion of the compliment you have paid me, to that kind partiality with which I have been uniformly cherished by my friends and fellow citizens in this community rather than to any poor or humble merits of my own.

In this sentiment, you have been pleased, I presume, to make reference to my efforts in the National Legislature of this Union. A retrospect of these efforts brings with it no recollections but those of discomfiture and regret. I was little else than the unavailing and ineffectual witness of how much your rights could be violated, and your interests injured without the possibility of prevention or redress.

Gentlemen, I was comparatively a young man, when by the generous confidence of an adjoining district, I was sent to Congress.

At this period, I do not believe there was an individual in this Union more thoroughly and enthusiastically national in his politics than myself. I went to the immediate centre of the action of the Federal Government with every prepossession in its favor. I had taken up somewhat on trust, without much examination, but with no other than the purest motives, opinions in some respects (but with what I then supposed proper guards) calculated to sustain some of its implied powers. There was something in the picture of a magnificent government, invincible in war, beneficent in peace, holding in exact equipoise the scales of justice, presiding over all, sustaining all, protecting all, with neither the power nor inclination to do injury to any, well calculated to fascinate the imagination of a young man whose estimates of life were as sanguine as his knowledge was imperfect and limited. I was not, however, long at the great federal laboratory without discovering some radical defects in the practical operation of its mechanism—some omens of sinister import, which satisfied me, that those who had been invoking unceasing watchfulness and jealousy on the part of the States over the general government, were the trustworthy centinels of our liberty, that their challenges on the ramparts were the true and faithful watchwords; and if they did not cry in a dark and starless night, "*All's well*," it was because, indeed, all was not well! In confessing this error of my first political impressions, I am influenced quite as much by a desire of doing justice to the wisdom, and honor to the motives of those who, from the commencement of the operation of our federal system, have uniformly thought its highest peril, as well as its greatest tendency, was to consolidation, as to put my own opinions beyond cavil or dispute. In short, Gentlemen, during the last four years of my service in Congress, I witnessed

enough to convince me, that, practically, the government of this confederacy was nothing more or less than an organ of indefinite power, admirably used (if not contrived) for the purpose of taxing one portion of the Union, with the view of distributing its exactions in another ; and that, under a league and copartnership between the Tariff and Internal Improvement parties, monopoly was to be given to the one, and the fruits of the taxation necessary to secure that monopoly, to the other.

I thought I perceived, as I think I do now, in this corruption, the seeds of the dissolution of this Union, sowed broad-cast, and about to germinate with a rank luxuriance. That man must be far gone in Utopian visions, who supposes that a confederate government like ours, can violate, if you please, even the spirit of the compact, for the purpose of usurping powers of internal legislation among the States, when the object of such usurpation is to give to sheer plunder the forms of law, without terminating in a rapacious despotism over the minority, and in a thorough corruption of the public spirit of those who are the favored objects of this unlawful booty. We have been told that that government is the worst which, with the forms of a free, has the ends of an arbitrary government. Whether ours has reached this condition, let the signs of the present crisis determine.

In such a state of things, I leave you to decide, how hopeless must have been the efforts of those, who in scorning to unite in such a system of free-booting, by the very fact of their daring to lift up their voices against it, only excited our oppressors to fresh acts of injustice.

Here, Gentlemen, I should be inclined to conclude, if your kind reference to the fact of my having been put in nomination for an office of honour and trust, did not render it necessary for me to trespass for a few moments on your goodness. Whilst I have not, nor do I intend to make this office the object either of my solicitation or avoidance, I am nevertheless desirous to shun no public question, by which the State may pass upon the important inquiry of how far my opinions may render it safe for *her* to confide to *me* the privilege of consulting with her legislature, and the responsibility of executing her laws.

To avoid all misconstruction, I will begin, Gentlemen, by throwing my opinions in the form of a creed, by which I am willing to stand the issue.

I believe the Tariff to be "a *palpable, deliberate* and *dangerous* violation of the Constitution," the more dangerous and the more insulting, because through a fraud upon the text of that instrument, it abuses the letter whilst it flagitiously infracts the spirit of the compact.

I believe it imposes a burden of direct taxation on the South, and what is vastly more momentous, of indirect taxation, by the diminishing the price and demand of our staples, consequent on the loss of our foreign trade, which will be utterly and irretrievably ruinous.

I believe that the General Government has no power to tax the sovereign States of this Confederacy, except to pay its debts and just expences, and to provide for the common defence and general welfare in their most *comprehensive sense*.

I believe it has no *substantive* power to prosecute a system of internal improvements, whilst the profligate corruptions, and insane extravagance, which have marked, practically, the use and abuse of this power, would forbid, on every principle of sound morals and expediency, its exercise, even as a matter of seemingly necessary or direct implication.

I believe that this system of unconstitutional taxation, on the one hand, and unjust and unequal expenditure on the other, makes the condition of the South essentially *Colonial*, and that she is fast verging to a desolation which, whilst it covers us with unutterable disgrace, entails upon our posterity inevitable ruin.

Believing all these things, and that all prospect of relief from our oppressors is hopeless, I believe that the South *ought* and *must* resist.

Gentlemen, an eminent authority, no revolutionary incendiary or anarchist, the most gifted opponent the French revolution ever had, has said, "That no commodity will bear a duty of three pence, or will bear a penny, when the general feelings of men are irritated, and two millions of people are resolved not to pay. The feelings of the Colonies were formerly the feelings of Great Britain. Theirs were formerly the feelings of Mr. Hampden, when called upon to pay 20 shillings. Would 20 shillings have ruined Mr. Hampden's fortune? No—but the payment of half 20 shillings, on the principle it was demanded, would have made him a slave." And so say I, that it matters not whether your duties be one hundred, or twenty-five per cent, when they are de-

manded on the principle of *protection*, and not *revenue*, the South is equally a *slave*.

It may be asked "ought and must resist." How, by disunion and civil war? No, never, without those calamities are inflicted upon us by the sanguinary despotism and obstinate injustice of our oppressors. What then—by what mode and measure of remedy and redress? Let the authorities of the sovereign States that pay this tribute, answer this question on the solemn responsibilities which they are under, to a suffering and indignant people. Let them consult an enlightened forecast, a temperate, firm and sustaining fortitude. Let them look back on the principle, canonized by the blood of innumerable martyrs in our revolution. Let them look into the principle which we supposed was solemnly guaranteed by our compact, and let them look forward to the awful consequences of neglecting to protect, and forever defend these principles, which are unto us more than life, "the duties of life themselves." Do we promise more than she will perform when we say, To this appeal South-Carolina is ready to respond?

Gentlemen, a distinguished political philosopher, on the other side of the water, has said, "that the dangers of liberty can never be greater from any cause, than they are from the remissness of a people to whose personal vigour, every constitution as it owed its establishment, so it must continue to owe its preservation."

This relaxation of the public spirit in some quarters, is certainly one among the alarming signs of the times. But perfect unanimity is not to be expected on a question of such infinite importance as the solemn issue which the tributary States *must* make up with the General Government. I say *must* make up, for you may take it as a position susceptible of the most rigid historical demonstration, that no despot in an arbitrary, and no despotic majority in a government calling itself free, will voluntarily surrender the power of unlimited taxation. You must carry your appeal from their justice to interests that are *ultimate* in their character, if a superiority of physical force should protect them from the influence of fear.

As to the mode of making up this issue with the general government, there may be an honest difference of opinion among those who are nevertheless thoroughly united in the conviction that we labor

under intolerable evils, and that there exists an eminent necessity that they should be effectually redressed. These differences of opinion we are bound not only to tolerate, but to treat with kindness and respect. Have we not had presented to us this evening in a manner the most deeply and imposingly interesting, an illustration of this dissimilitude of sentiment in our honoured and distinguished Guests? Our representative (Colonel Drayton) whilst he is scarcely less strong in denouncing the injustice and oppressive character of the present system of government in its operation on the South, differs with our Senator (Gen. Hayne) on the question of remedy. He thinks that our evils have not yet amounted to a degree of suffering which would authorize us to put at hazard the integrity of the Union, - and that some of the measures of redress proposed involve this risk. But his text, free from all metaphysical abstractions, affirms the great right of resistance, & what is not of less value, the right of a State peaceably to secede from the Union. But for one thing, gentlemen, I will pledge my life, that whatever difference of opinion there may be between our friend and those who have listened to him—with none other than feelings of the most respectful consideration and ardent attachment—when South Carolina *does act*, he will be found in the van of the conflict—sustaining our counsels, by the resources of his fine intellect and character, and adorning our struggles by the devoted valor of his chivalrous spirit. Yes, my life upon it, when the *time does come*, if his veins were fed by a spring as redundant as the fountain of Arethusa, he would pour out his blood like water to the last drop in defence of this land, the spot of his earliest attachments, and the object of his first and undying allegiance.

If this unanimity is not to be expected among our friends, little ought we to suppose, that in a crisis of peculiar excitement, when great interests are presumed to be at stake, that justice will be done either to our opinions or motives, by those who differ from us, with the embittered feelings of political rancour. If we are satisfied that we occupy no ground which we do not believe to be right, we may well afford to tolerate a dissent from our views, although that dissent should be accompanied by calumny and abuse.

Let then, those cry disunion against those who mean nothing more than such a reform in the constitution as will prevent disunion. Let them cry, if

they will, nullification against those who think they find this doctrine expressly maintained by the author of the Declaration of Independence, and impliedly sustained by one of the most distinguished of the architects of our Constitution. Let them raise this cry, although no man has ever put this doctrine forth, in any other shape than as a matter for free discussion, which if true would be sustained, and if false would be abandoned, but for no purpose of party discipline or confederation.

Let them insist, if they will, that there is a party bent on disunion; the best answer we can make to this unfounded slander, is, by firm, temperate, and unceasing efforts to endeavour to save the union, by saving the constitution from an unhallowed breach and corrupt violation. Let them read to us, if they will, long homilies of submission, for the salutary purpose of showing, that the only way of securing our institutions from infraction, is to quietly submit to one violation of our compact after another, under the fear, that if we constitutionally resist, we shall be crushed, and that our oppressors are much more likely to be coaxed by our forbearance, after they are gorged with our plunder, than intimidated by our resistance, whilst we yet have the power to resist. To all this, let us tell them, their work is very imperfectly done, even at second hand; that in the pious discourses of a certain learned divine, the Rev. Dr. Sacheverel, of famous memory, in the enlightened essays of that distinguished civilian Sir Robert Filmer, we find their doctrines of "passive obedience and non-resistance," drawn through the alembic of submission, until the crucible yields nothing but pure, unsophisticated drops of servility, so soothing, sedative and balsamic, that ten drops are warranted a dose to make any man a coward and a slave!

But I will continue this odious and disgusting theme no longer. Let me turn to that part of the horizon which gleams with the light of consolation and hope—the morning star breaks from the shadows of night, and rises with cheering lustre. Public opinion, which does not long continue in the path of error, begins to discover that South Carolina has some pretext for her complaints, some grounds for her remonstrances, and some reasons for her protests. Our heroic Chief Magistrate of the Union has put the seal of his honest and fearless reprobation, on a part of the felonies against which she complain-

ed. Nine-tenths of her people are united and firm. With these auspices shall we give up the contest?—No! They furnish the highest imaginable incentives to its vigorous and temperate prosecution.

If in no other form, at least in the steady resistance of public opinion, in the undying declaration that we will not submit, however long forbearance may have postponed or may still postpone resistance to a violation of the bargain, which binds us together as confederate States.

Fellow-Citizens, if we are true to ourselves, we must triumph—our cause rests on the foundations of immutable truth and invincible justice; and our success will be signalized by our fixing, on a surer basis, the securities and stipulations of the Constitution and Union. The page of history beams with instructive and consoling lessons, of minorities obtaining their rights, even in great and arbitrary empires, where they have had too much intelligence and too much public virtue to abandon them. Need I refer to the triumph of religious freedom, in our own and on a recent day, which has flashed upon the world, after a long night of darkness and bigotry?—Need I refer to that spot, which for the beauty of its verdure, poetry has called “the Green Isle of the Ocean,” which but for this victory, history would have denominated the Island of perpetual misery and despair, to invigorate our hopes and sustain our confidence? Has not her triumph been a bloodless one? Has not bigotry been overthrown, with no other concussion to the British Constitution, but to add fresh securities to the *Union* of England, Scotland and Ireland? Did she owe her success to submission or to the solemn and authentic signs, if justice was denied, of her determination *to resist*? Let the constancy and bravery of her long suffering and gallant people, answer these questions—Yes, let Ireland speak for herself, through the holy enthusiasm of her genius; by the inspiration of her muse; by the deep pathos and matchless beauty of her Bard, when she tells the world—the interdict of the Grave has been reversed*—the day has come—the Epitaph of Emmet may now be written!

Let me apply her bright omen of *success* to our fortunes, and the example of her *spirit* for our imitation.

* The dying injunction of Emmett was, that his Epitaph should not be written until the wrongs of his country were redressed.

Yes, my friends, in making this application, we will indulge in no gloomy forebodings. We will not picture to ourselves the worst edict of exile which tyranny can pronounce against a suffering people—an exile which poverty, ruin and desolation compel, by an inexorable fiat—God forbid, after such an exile, the first but bitter fruit of an abject submission, that some of our descendants should be destined, in returning, if for nothing else, to visit the graves of their fathers, they should see no signs left of a people “*that once was*,” but these last decaying memorials of fondness and affection, and in wandering amid them, to be compelled to exclaim—

——Alas poor country;

Almost afraid to know itself! It cannot
Be called our Mother, but our Grave.

No! such a destiny is not in reserve *for us*. Taking counsel rather from courage than despair; advancing no *claim* that is not founded on our *right*; pursuing at once a course of enlightened moderation and inflexible firmness; our cause, which is the cause of the Constitution, shall triumph. Again will fraternal affection bless the concord of this mighty Union. This city, our venerable parent, the theatre once of victorious enterprise and generously requited industry; the abode of hospitality, refinement, and an elevated public spirit, will lift up its dejected head to receive the renewed sunshine of God's chosen blessings. Our fields brightened with the verdure of unbounded promise and laden with the fruits of luxuriant harvests, in their cheerful aspect, will reflect the prosperity of a contented and *united* people. We know the *value* of these objects, but let us not *misunderstand* the *price* at which they are to be obtained.

Can I more appropriately conclude than by offering you the following sentiment?

“*South-Carolina*—Wisdom to her counsels; decision to her action, prosperity and honour to her ends.”

By General Hayne: STATE RIGHTS—the only sure basis of *Constitutional liberty*. “On us, in the Providence of God has been cast the special guardianship of the great principle. *Should it fail here*, all hope will be extinguished.”

After the above toast, Barnard E. Bee, Esq. rose and solicited permission to offer the following sentiment, which he felt assured would be well received.

By Barnard E. Bee, Esq.—The Author of Brutus : Ardent in the cause of Carolina : unjustly censured “for vindicating his *native* southern country, to which he is attached by no ordinary ties, and in which his dust is likely to be mingled, with that of father, mother, children and friends.”

The toast was received with heartfelt and long continued plaudits, after which Mr. Turnbull addressed the company as follows :—

Fellow Citizens—The manner in which this toast has been received merits my warmest acknowledgments. I am the more thankful to you for this distinguished mark of your approbation, because it is the first public occasion in which my fellow townsmen have so *distinctly* honoured & affirmed the principles of Brutus.

When, Gentlemen, I first thought of submitting these principles to the public, I was not insensible of the difficulty and the delicacy of the undertaking : I was aware that I would have to contend with the preconceived opinions of my fellow citizens, running in a powerful current against me, and that I would be opposed in an especial manner, by that laudable, constant and ardent devotion to the Federal Union, for which, “in this State, our citizens have been pre-eminently distinguished: I therefore pondered for awhile whether I could proceed, with a hope even of usefulness. But when I saw, that in the extravagance of this love and veneration for Union, my fellow citizens began to be unmindful of their sacred allegiance to their own State, and of their high duty to themselves; that they had in fact already forgotten, that though in commerce, in war, in foreign negotiation, and in an unextinguishable love of freedom, we were a nation one and indivisible; yet, that for all internal purposes, we were so many separate and confederate sovereignties, I then felt it to be my duty to step forth and to warn my countrymen against those usurpations of the Government, which were about to subvert the happy relations in which the States had placed themselves by compact, and thus to throw all the parts of this bright and glorious Confederacy hitherto so concordant, into an incongruous and an inharmonious whole.

How far I have succeeded in rousing our people to a sense of the dangers which surrounded them, it does not become me to say: But of this I am well

assured, that as far as the sentiments of the people have been expressed, through their Constitutional organ, the Legislature, I have more than the sanction of an approving conscience for all that I have done. My principles have not only been incorporated in the resolutions, remonstrances and protests of our own Legislature, but they have been adopted by other Southern Legislatures. Yes Gentlemen, the conviction daily becomes more & more deeply rooted in the public mind, and it is in vain to gainsay it, that there is on the part of Congress, a *great* and a *growing* spirit of usurpation, which if not arrested, must eventuate in the destruction of our commerce, and in the loss of our liberties. It is under the influence of this conviction that you have seen the standard of State Rights, unfurled of late, even in the City of Washington—unfurled, not in hostile array, but in friendship and alliance with the *true* friends of Union, and *there* to be intertwined, let us still hope, with the Banner of the Constitution. In the Halls of Congress you have seen the doctrine distinctly asserted, not by our Delegation alone, but by members from the East, and West, that our Federal Union IS a *compact* between separate and independent political communities—that there are NO parties to that compact but SOVEREIGN STATES, & that to *each* of these Sovereign States is reserved the *unalienable right*, and upon *all* of *them* imposed the *Paramount duty*, of severally protecting their citizens, from the oppressions of the Central Government.

And whence are these doctrines? Think ye that they originated with the individual who now addresses you? Is it to the author of Brutus that you would ascribe the praise? Would to God, gentlemen, that I could boast of such a distinction, or that Providence had given me the mind to conceive, and the high and exalted influence so successfully to propagate doctrines and principles, not only involving the prosperity and safety of this little section of the Union; but on which, the happiness of the unborn millions of freemen, who are to people this Western world, must ultimately depend. No, gentlemen, no! They emanate from no common mind; they come from authority of the highest order; they flow from a fountain to which, whenever you are weary and heavy laden with the burden of oppression, you may always repair, and there drink of the refreshing waters of the spirit of Liberty; they belong to the

author of the Declaration of Independence—to that Jefferson whom you have long since canonized, and to the the sages and statesmen of that VIRGINIA “who with the CAROLINAS and GEORGIA, so fearlessly walked together in the valley of the shadow of death, in the war for our independence.”

To Jefferson, then, give the praise for those doctrines in which alone the conservative power of the State Sovereignities is to be sought for and found, and which have been called by way of reproach—“The *Carolina* doctrines.” Mine has only been the merit of holding up to you, as in a mirror, these principles of your great prototype; to place them before the admiring eyes of his disciples, in all the various positions of light and of shade of which they are susceptible; to illustrate their truth; to display their beauty, and to recommend them as being adapted, in an especial manner, to the circumstances, the wants, and above all, to the *domestic tranquillity* of the South. In this secondary vocation alone has Brutus laboured. He has trodden in no path, which had not been hallowed by the footsteps of Jefferson. By no other light has he been guided than by the light of his luminous mind. And such, my fellow-citizens, “is the *irresistible* nature of truth, that all it *asks*, and all it *wants*, is the LIBERTY of appearing.” The Sun needs no inscription to distinguish him from darkness; and no sooner, therefore, did the “*Carolina* Doctrines” display themselves to our people in their beauty and effulgence, than all those who had been so long gazing on the gaudy trappings and tinsel court dress of a consolidated government, felt as it were a shock, and bowed down and acknowledged their power, and the citizens of our State began at once to *think*, and thinking, next to *contemplate* redress for the violation of their rights, and the aggressions upon their sovereignty. True it is, that there are those amongst us who, declaiming upon the never ending theme of the horrors of disunion, and of British alliance, hope thereby to put out all the lights which the sun of free inquiry is now shedding throughout our land, upon the subject of the sovereign rights of the States; who, not having one single spark of the spirit of freedom in their own bosoms, and as unworthy of the rich inheritance left them by their fathers, as they are unable to meet their antagonists in the fair and open field of argument, vainly hope to lessen the influence of the “Ca-

Carolina Doctrines," by calling Brutus a foreigner. From such an opposition as this, the doctrine of State Rights, with the Constitution for its *base*, and Jefferson for its *corner stone*, has nothing to fear.—“Instead of suffering by it, it receives an homage. The more it is struck, the more sparks it will emit ; and the fear is, it will not be struck enough. It has nothing to dread from attacks—TRUTH has given it an *establishment*—and TIME will record it with a name as lasting as his own.”

Fellow-Citizens—The ATROCIOUS crime of being an *adopted* foreigner, is a charge which I shall neither attempt to palliate nor deny. But as *my* birth place, a circumstance in itself of no moment, has become so by the public curiosity which has been lately awakened concerning it, in consequence of some attacks made upon me in the public prints, it is due to the intreaties of some of my friends, and not to any conviction, in my own mind, of its necessity, to satisfy their curiosity. Before you declared your Independence, I was born a North American, South of Mason's and Dixon's line, and within the present limits of the United States. My father, who was amongst the first colonists of East Florida, after its cession to Great Britain, removed with his family from that Province, (my birth place) into Charleston, during the Revolution. He was friendly to the American cause, and his removal was at the instance of the most distinguished patriots of this city, with whom he lived in a close and lasting friendship. The *preliminary* articles, as well as the *definitive* Treaty of Peace, found me here in Charleston a *child*, and of course recognized me as a citizen of the United States. It is now fifty years since I first appeared amongst you. From that time till the present, I have been domiciled *here*. No other “home, sweet home,” have I ever had but this same city. My first act in manhood was my oath to support the Constitution, first of this State, and *next* of the United States. The *supremacy* of my allegiance to my first parent, I can never forget. “If ere I do forget thee,” Carolina, “may my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee, may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth.”

But I scorn, Gentlemen, to make the statements I have just given any part of my defence. To the charge of being an adopted foreigner, I am willing to plead guilty ; and I justify, and I throw myself up

on God and my country, which country you are. Say that I was born, not merely under the British King's allegiance, as a Colonist, but within the sound of *Bow Bell*. Am I, on that account, to be less appreciated in a country which professes to hold out an asylum for the oppressed of all nations; which throws wide open the doors of hospitality to all foreigners, kindly inviting them to come in and partake with them of the bread and the refreshments of equal suffrage, toleration and liberty? Think ye, that if Providence, instead of burning me with a Southern Sun, had associated me in birth with Locke and Milton, Chatham and Fox, and the long line of English philosophers, divines, poets and statesmen, with whom our ancestors once so sweetly drank of the waters of knowledge, liberty, and eternal life. Think ye, I repeat, that I would shrink from the honor of such an association? Would you, my fellow citizens, be disposed to denounce me, if, like my honored father, I had drawn my first breath amongst that people, who in the age of Trajan and the Antonines, when the Roman Monarchy was at its meridian splendour, and when every other part of the present British Empire had been subjected to the Imperial Generals, could boast of the unviolated independence of their native land; who have since so nobly struggled and died for Scotland's laws and Scotland's liberties, and who in these our own days are "making an eagle's flight over every region of knowledge, with an *eye* that never *winks*, and a *wing* that never *tires*." Shall the honest, industrious, brave and hardy emigrants of Germany, the country of De Kalb, whose fidelity to your cause was sealed with his blood, and whose bones lie buried in your own Southern soil,—a country surrounded by so many imperishable monuments, to record to the latest ages, its philosophy, its learning, its arts, and its ingenuity. Shall the children of that fair France, who in your utmost need, and "in the times that tried men's souls," gave you her heart, her hand and her purse, in such close alliance, and whose brave soldiers, together with the great and the good Lafayette, were present at the consummation, *in fact*, of the greatest revolution which the world has ever seen? Shall the sons of the Shamrock and the "Emerald Isle," who gave you their Montgomery to lead on, as it were, your forlorn hope, and the bravest of

the brave, to fill up the thin and scattering ranks of your armies—who so long have “sat down and wept” by the tombs of their martyr’d patriots.—Captives and strangers in their native land, their harps unstrung & “hanging upon the willows in the midst thereof,” in their heaviness looking to an abiding place in this land of freedom, as a return from their captivity, where they might no longer be “wasted,” but sing again as in their land, the triumphant song of their deliverance and of their joys. Shall the thousands and tens of thousands of emigrants, who annually come to your shores, and upon your own invitation too, bringing with them their moral worth, their knowledge, their arts, & their industry, sealing with their oaths, their devotion to freedom and their allegiance to this the country of their adoption. Shall they, gentlemen, in this pending controversy between the North and the South, give you their best wishes and their warmest sympathies. Shall they enter into all your feelings, be elevated with your hopes, and be cast down with your fears, partaking with you of the same oppression with which you are oppressed, and yet be told, that there is still a DISTINCTION between the native and adopted citizen? I trust not, my fellow citizens. I trust that you will frown down with your honest and your utmost indignation, a distinction so odious; and that your verdict will this night be recorded, that had chance placed the birth place of Brutus, not in Rome, but in the Hebrides, yet, that having so long resided here in Rome, and preserving, as he hopes, the good name inherited by him from his Sire, and ready to transmit it to his sons, as unimpaired as it was bequeathed to him; having all his property so invested in two States, that he must sink or swim with the *perilous* ship of the *South*, with his parents, wife, children and relations, all sleeping in their original dust, within hearing distance of the voice that nightly cries the hour, from that watch tower; with no earthly tie to bind him to any other, spot on earth than this same Carolina. HE, Brutus, who has never asked, from the tribunes or the people, an office or an honour. and who would receive none, excepting such as your applauses, so distinctly & so repeatedly expressed this evening, have conferred on him, has as an undoubted a right in law, and in reason, to give his opinion, and to be heard too, in a dispute purely Northern and Southern, as any one of

you, who was born within the sound of St. Michael's bell. If this be not your verdict, then indeed

"Brutus had better be a *villager*,
Than to repute himself a son of Rome,
Under such HARD conditions, as THIS TIME
Is likely to lay on him."

Fellow Townsmen :—This is the proudest day of my life : we can say, without a fear of contradiction, that there is assembled in this spacious and crowded Hall, the intelligence, the patriotism, the virtue and the chivalry of Charleston. Characters there are here, from one of whom, at least, [*pointing to Major Hamilton*] we may expect all that patriotism and firmness can achieve in council ; and from others, [*looking at the guests*] all that honor and bravery can accomplish in the field. Good men and true, they and their distinguished associates, have come at the first bidding, to a festival, which in "thought, word and deed" is their country's festival. It is Carolina's festival, and if amongst those who have so absented themselves from the pleasures of this day, there are any who "cannot *feel and think* with South Carolina, on the *principles promulgated by the Legislature*," these, which was the only test required for a seat at the table, let us hope, that tho' as honest men, and good citizens, they now differ from us, yet, that sooner or later, they will all kindly fall into the ranks of their countrymen, and enter into those feelings which every son of the South ought to cherish, honor and revere as the best and the cheapest defence which we can make at this crisis, against the oppressions, which would make slaves of us all.

Neither the time nor my own inclination, will permit me to enter into the fruitful topics of your rights and your wrongs. These have been already noticed, with an eloquence and a force such as has seldom been displayed any where. Never can you forget the spirit-stirring sentiments of the gentlemen who have preceded me, and the transcendent power of their appeals upon this assembly. The old as well as the young, yea the very dignitaries of the land, have been seen rising from their seats in ecstasy to partake of an enthusiasm, which beggars all description ; which no love of order in yourselves, and no authority of your officers, has been sufficient to restrain. Not a sentiment has been here uttered, with which the name of our dear Carolina is min-

gled, that has not electrified these her patriotic sons. Like the lightning's vivid flash, it has scarcely been seen, that peal upon peal of the thunders of your applause have not instantly followed; such thunders as would cause our oppressors, were they present, to quake and tremble with horror, and cry for mercy, and pray that the fire of this meeting might not be kindled into a flame, and so spread as to consume them, with the wrath of an injured and indignant people.

Persevere, then, in the work you have so gloriously commenced. I ask of you fellow citizens, to take no counsel, hereafter, from fear, but from courage. If there are any, who believe, that this, their country, can be rescued from the fell grasp of our inexorable tyrants by any thing short of that steady, undaunted and uncompromising spirit which distinguished your Laurens & Gadsden, Pinckney's & Rutledge's, in the dark hour of the revolution, let them be told, once and for all, that they are as grossly deceived themselves, as they are fatally deceiving others. History, ancient and modern, does not furnish a single example, in which a people so *awfully* situated as we in South Carolina are at this moment, who were ever relieved from their perils, excepting by their united will, and their firm and unalterable determination to suffer no longer. The strength of the tyrant consists only in the fear of resisting him." The gentleman who preceded me, has mentioned Ireland. — Yes! there she is, and she speaks for herself. She was oppressed for centuries. Like you she raised her voice, but like you she raised that voice in vain, because it was stifled amidst the party feuds which distracted her. She wanted the united will to be free, and wanting that she would have struggled for centuries to come. But no sooner did the Imperial Parliament discover that the energies of the Irish, were about to be concentrated, and made to bear on a single point; and that their next movement, would be a *simultaneous* movement in every part of the country, than Emancipation instantly followed, and to their own astonishment, their hopes were more than realized. Their religious thralldom passed away from them as a summer's cloud, and so will ours. In resources if not in population, South Carolina is not less important to the Union than Ireland is to the British Empire. Look again to Georgia—she has not once, but twice vanquished the General Government, and so

will it be with us. If we are but true to ourselves—you will soon see the moral effects of *Unity* of thought and design, upon the minds of those who now feel power and forget right." If you desire better feelings, and better friendship with your northern brethren, be firm. If you desire the government of the Union to be administered in the spirit in which it was formed, I tell you be firm and fear not. If you want perpetual Union, be firm, yes be firm. There is no necessity for you to choose between "Liberty without Union," or "Union without Liberty." Your own fears will most assuredly give you the last, and you have, I am certain, no desire for the first. But the Constitution in its purity gives you both, Liberty as well as Union. The one is the *end* and the other the *means*. Under the blessing of God, sovereign States "joined them together," as man and wife, in holy wedlock. It is the spirit of usurpation, that spirit of darkness, which abides in our councils at Washington, that would "part them asunder."

Fellow-citizens, let me conclude by saying, before that maker and judge of all things who hears me, that it is my sincere belief, that if there were but *one* soul, *one* heart and mind, in South-Carolina, on the subject of our differences with Congress, we might yet continue to live a happy people, and we should be rewarded by seeing the Union now so discordant, again harmonious, and one section always hereafter disposed to respect the "authorities, rights, and liberties" appertaining to the others. But as it is not in mortals to see into the future; and as it is *possible*, (I cannot think it probable,) that we may be mistaken, as to the effect which the firmness we recommend, may have on the issue of the present contest, it then behoves us, living as we do, amidst the proud memorials of the Revolution, to prepare for the worst, and to look boldly in the face, all the consequences, whether they be the consequences of danger, death or Disunion. Tremble not at the word Disunion, but rather tremble at an evil of still greater magnitude pointed out to you by Thomas Jefferson, and which evil, in his own words, is "a government practically without limitation of powers." If, my fellow-citizens, guided by the experience of our own revolution, and the general admonitions of history, which we must believe are designed to instruct and not to lead us astray, we shall commence that struggle for State sovereign-

ty, in which alone our domestic tranquillity is to be found, and in that struggle shall call upon our brethren South of the Potomac, but yet call upon them in vain; if with no Southern sympathy, in other States, to cheer us onward in the hour of our trial, and no Southern arm to extend itself and to help and save us, we shall at last be doomed to have those cruel and galling chains, which now fret and torment us, the more strongly rivetted upon us and our children for ever—who is there, that feels and thinks as a Freeman, that would not rather perish with the liberties of the South, than under disgraceful submission, live for years and years dishonored, and at last sink down and fill a coward's grave. Let me give the answer for you all—There are none in this assembly, “NO NOT ONE.”

Mr. Turnbull concluded with offering the following sentiment:

“*The Cause of the South*—It has the Constitution for its base, and Jefferson for its chief corner stone—“TRUTH has given it an *establishment*, and TIME will record it with a name as lasting as his own.”

Mr. MINTZING, one of the Vice Presidents, here stated that he had been requested by the company in his quarter of the Room to present the following Toast:

Henry L. Pinckney—The honest advocate of a good cause.

The Toast was received with cheers—after which Mr. Pinckney addressed the Company, giving his opinion fully and plainly, of the interesting questions at issue between the Southern States and the federal government. He stated his decided conviction of the unconstitutionality and oppressiveness of the Tariff—of the baseness and injustice of the Internal Improvement system, as it has for years been carried on—of the abject degradation to which both systems united had reduced the South—and of the absolute necessity of exercising vigorously every constitutional measure for the restoration of our rights and the preservation of our pro

party. He knew that there might possibly be some who differed with him either as to the precise measure of redress, or as to the proper time for applying and enforcing it, but he was sure that there was no individual in that assembly, who, when the State should assert its sovereignty, would not rally around her banner in perfect devotion to her rights, her interest, and her honor. To this sentiment many voices responded, "No, not one!"

By R. Cunningham, Esq. Chairman of Committee of Arrangements: The political integrity which looks only to duty, and is fearless of consequences.

By the Hon. Henry Deas, one of the Vice-Presidents: The President of the United States—We recognize in his Veto, his determination to preserve the Federal Union.

By John Gadsden, Esq. one of the Vice-Presidents: Virginia—South-Carolina having adopted *her faith*, should not be unmindful of the *prudent example* of this great State. That course cannot be dishonorable which is sanctioned by this light of political wisdom, and parent of States.

By Jacob F. Mintzing, Esq. one of the Vice-Presidents: South-Carolina—Patience and forbearance have evinced her attachment to the Union—May her sons (native and adopted) now unite, and by a "pull altogether," be relieved from that system of oppression which "takes from labor the bread it has earned," and "is an incubus on the bosom of Society—paralyzing all the efforts of industry."

By John Magrath, Esq. one of the Committee of Arrangements: The Memory of Gen. Washington—Like Cincinnatus of old, his country drew his services from the pleasures of rural life: May the country of his protection differ from that of the Roman Patriot, in nothing, except a continued perpetuity.

By Capt. Axson, one of the Committee of Arrangements: South-Carolina—She has reason to be proud of the part she took in the elevation of Andrew Jackson; now that he has thrown himself in the breach, may she not desert him.

By Capt. Van Rhyn, one of the Committee of Arrangements: That construction of the Constitution which "establishes justice, insures domestic tranquillity, promotes the general welfare, and secures

the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

By Capt. James Robertson, one of the Committee of Arrangements: A speedy relief from the last Tariff—Had its projectors been legislating for their country, and not for their immediate constituents, a monster so deformed and so baneful to all commerce, would never have been brought forth.

By Capt. Charles Parker, one of the Committee of Arrangements: The rightful Commerce of the South—Neither given by the General Government, nor to be taken away by it.

By H. W. Perronneau, one of the Committee.—The support of the Federal Government, in all its constitutional powers: *Resistance to all its usurpations.*

By A. E. Miller, Esq. one of the Committee.—"State Rights" and all who maintain them.

By J. Cessford Ker, Esq. one of the Committee.—Our distinguished Guests: We take delight in honoring them for their private virtues and public services. Their past efforts and (it is to be hoped) future endeavors, in asserting State Rights, will have a salutary effect in averting the dire consequences which the unconstitutional measures of an arbitrary majority in Congress are calculated to produce.

By E. Bacon, Esq. one of the Committee.—The City of Charleston: May every unconstitutional obstruction be speedily removed and its former activity restored.

By Judge E. H. Bay.—The spirit and principles of '93, which once saved our Constitution from the encroachments of the Federal Government. May they again preserve that *sacred charter* from destruction at the present day of peril, and restore it to its primeval splendour.

By Judge Prioleau: The preservation of the Union.—The warmest wish of the patriot's heart—depending on the preservation of the rights of the States, it can only be accomplished by a firm resistance to unconstitutional laws.

By Mr. McBeth: *The Modern Brutus*—The principles of his "Crisis"—one bright weapon snatched from the armory of truth; God grant it may pierce to the heart of our tyrant.

By W. B. Seabrook, Esq. of Edisto Island: South Carolina—When she ceases to resist the aggressions on her sovereignty, may the deeds of her patriots be blotted from the annals of history.

By Robt. J. Turnbull, Esq. Vice President: Our adopted fellow citizen, Dr. Thos. Cooper.—Let those who quarrel with his labours in the cause of constitutional freedom, because he *was a foreigner*, go and write their libels on the tomb of Montgomery.

By C. C. Pinckney, Esq.: The President's Veto—It has done all he can do for the South; the rest the South must do for herself.

By Mr. James Cuthbert: South Carolina—Sensible of her wrongs, she should never hesitate to redress them: may false *fears*, like false shame, embarrass those only who entertain them.

By Mr. Hugh Rose: Unanimity in defence of our rights, and a zealous support of *Constitutional Laws*

By John Townsend, Esq. from St. Johns, Colleton: President Jackson—His manly and independent conduct on the Maysville and Lexington Road Bill, has exalted him still higher, if possible, in the estimation of all honorable minds, and endeared him to the heart of every true lover of the Constitution. To him we would say, go on still faithful public servant

“Be just and fear not,
Let all the ends thou aim'st at be thy country's,
Thy God's and truth's: Then if thou fail'st,
Thou fail'st a blessed martyr.”

By D. J. Waring, Esq: The Fruits of the American Revolution—Would that they were still the blessings of the American family—“Liberty, the Constitution, Union;” these three, but the greatest of these is Liberty.

By Mr. Joseph D. Cheves: May talking politicians not forget that the three great requisites of Oratory are action, action, action.

By Mr. Wm. McElmoyle: The State Rights Party in the East, West, North and South—May their efforts to perpetuate the Federal Union, which must be supported, never be relaxed until every unconstitutional act shall be repealed.

After Judge Bay had retired, John B. Irving, Esq. proposed—

The Hon. Elihu H. Bay—The well-tried, “good and faithful servant”! The learned Judge! The venerable Christian! How grateful it is to know and to *feel*, that *our principles* are approved by one so competent to decide upon them!

By Mr. T. H. Robinson: Our Members of Congress from this State—They have met the wishes

of their constituents, and by their wisdom have preserved the dignified standing of South-Carolina.

By Mr. John Holland: The enlightened minority of the late Congress, and destruction to the system of concentrated power, beyond Naval protection.

By S. Elliott, Esq.: Our Cause—Not the paltriest advantage can be obtained over it, without attacking some of those principles or deriding some of those feelings for which our ancestors have shed their blood—*Burke*.

By H. S. Legare, Esq.: Andrew Jackson—We *know* by our experience in war—we *believe* from our experience in peace—that, under his auspices, *we have no right* to despair of the Republic.

By Mr. Abraham Miller: Truth and the force of public opinion triumphant over physical strength and numbers.

By Mr. Henry Goldsmith: South-Carolina—She nobly dared opposition to British tyranny; and her same sons, nerved by the same spirit, and possessing the same pride, will not *now* shrink from maintaining their rights against *American imposition*.

By Mr. I. E. Holmes: A glorious struggle for State Rights—with all its dangers and difficulties, rather than a quiet submission to servitude with all its safety and tranquillity.

By Mr. Henry J. Harby: Messrs. Hayne and Drayton—May your oppressed Country profit by your talents, and your memory shall be embalmed in the praises of posterity.

By Mr. P. Cantwell: Liberty and Equality—*Liberty*, secured by the institutions of a great and united Republic. Equality, which knows of no orders or privileges or distinctions but those created by our glorious Constitution—by *virtue*, or by talents.

By Mr. I. D. Mordecai: Carolina—Should she be assailed, may the hour of danger find her equal to the crisis.

By Mr. James L. Peigne: Our two able State Right Representatives to Congress, Major General Hayne and Col. Drayton—May the gratitude of your fellow-citizens who surround you this day, rouse the slumbering sensibility of the nation.

By Mr. S. Perry: The Advocates of State Rights—The genuine friends to the perpetuity of the Union.

By Mr. T. Middleton: Free Trade—The widest and least artificial canal to national prosperity.

By Major E. H. Edwards : " Our Constitutional Rights—May we have the wisdom to discern, and the courage to defend them."

By Mr. S. L. Levy : The Genius of Liberty—Our fathers reared her Temple and cemented it with their best blood ; let their sons preserve it undefiled.

By Mr. H. A. Desaussure : The United States—One and inseparable ; Disunion their only *irreparable* evil.

By Mr. Skirving Smith : Southern suffering and Northern commiseration, alias the Carolina ass overburthened with yankee *notions*.

By Mr. W. M. Frazer : South-Carolina—Admired every where for her hospitality and her love of liberty ; she never will be enslaved by any Northern monopolists.

By Mr. Thomas Duggan : Champagne to our real friends and real pain to our sham friends.

By Mr. T. P. Harvey : South-Carolina—Her sons are conscious of her rights, and will die in her defence.

By Mr. G. Robertson : When called upon, may our lamps be trimmed and burning.

By Mr. John Crawford : South-Carolina—Whilst contending for her rights as a sovereign State, may the bitterness of party spirit give way to the more noble and manly feeling of patriotism ; and may the sole aim of every Carolinian be, who shall do most to support the honor and dignity of the State.

By the Rev. J. F. O'Neill : May the Stars of our Union happily blend into one great and glowing constellation, diverging its radiance to other nations, in whose horizon the sun of freedom has not yet appeared.

By Mr. W. F. Redding : Our National Standard—Long may it wave in its present unsullied Glory,—The terror of Tyrants and the proud boast of Freemen.

By Mr. Charles F. Neyle : The State of South Carolina—May I never live to see her submit to Northern usurpation.

By Mr. Benj. Leefe : Liberty gained with the blood of our ancestors, and bequeathed by them to us as the richest blessing we can enjoy.

By E. Beatty : Egremont, a town in Merrie England, the birth place of Carolina's cherished Mechanic.

By Robert Rowand : The first office of the United States ; may it never be filled but by the wise, the brave and virtuous.

By J. G. Frier : May every Carolinian who backs one inch be down six feet.

By Mr. Wm. Gray : South Carolina and the Tariff—The former must be freed from the latter, peaceably if she can, or by an appeal to arms if she must.

By Mr. Thomas West : One of the brightest ornaments that decorate the United States, manufactured in South Carolina—Andrew Jackson.

By W. J. Ramsay : Dr. Thos. Cooper—the able advocate of State Rights.

By Mr. A. J. Kennedy : Our wrongs redressed—Our Union preserved.

By Mr. James Ferguson : The Hon. Robert W. Barnwell—The talented, eloquent and chivalric defender of State Rights. In honoring him, our fellow-citizens of Colleton and Beaufort do honor to themselves and to Carolina.

By Mr. Edward C. Peronneau : The Union, with impartial legislation and equality of taxation, or a Republic South of the Potomac.

By W. P. Finley :
“Liberty of the tongue—Liberty of the press—
Liberty of the conscience—*Liberty of the hand,*”

By Mr. John J. Alexander : The voice of our fathers in '76—It tells us that resistance to *oppression* was a virtue ; *they* triumph'd, and left *us* the legacy of their bright example.

By Mr. Lewis Cruger : The President's Veto—It has daunted for a moment our ruthless oppressors, and scared them from their foul feast of avarice, but let us not be deluded into the belief that it has effectually driven them from their prey, or will restrain them from returning with unglutted and insatiate appetites.

By Mr. Philip Cohen : The friends of the American system and the Colonization Society—In the language of Rolla “they offer us their protection”—Yes! such protection as vultures give to lambs.

By Mr. Wm. McWhinnie : The talent of South-Carolina—*Ably* and *brilliantly* displayed in its representatives to the Congress of these United States.

By Mr. J. L. Nowell : South-Carolina—Her *chosen* sons have declared her *wrongs*. Her *faithful* sons will maintain her *rights*.

By Mr. Benj. R. Smith : State Rights—In fearlessly and firmly maintaining them, we will preserve the liberty of our native State, and the Constitution of our common country.

By Mr. N. H. Rutledge : The statesmen of South-Carolina—May their veneration for our patriotic forefathers operate as a magic ring on their political conduct.

By Col. T. O. Elliott : In this crisis let every citizen be true to this State, nor be misled by the base motives of personal or party advancement.

By Mr. T. H. S. Thayer ; Our Northern Brethren—Wisdom to see their errors, and magnanimity to retract them.

By Col. L. Morris : Unanimity to the sons of the South—May reason and not passion be their watch-word.

By a Subscriber : The Fair Sex—Too generally the advocates of *Union* to favor a *single State*.

By Mr. M. C. Mordecai : May wise and prudent measures not only be continued, but supported strictly, by every true friend of Carolina, until the Hydra destroys itself or a second Hercules arises to crush it.

By J. Heilbron : Northern Leeches—They have long fed upon our vitals ; *Southern Sugar-of-lead* will disgorge them.

By Mr. E. Horry : The union of the States—Preserved by the Federal Constitution in its original purity, and unalloyed by Constructions, which must tend to destroy the rights of the individual States, their agricultural interests, and their commerce with foreign nations.

By J. D. Emanuel : May our next Legislature convince our Northern brethren, that South-Carolina will never consent to be treated as “ a sick child.”

By Mr. Wm. B. Pringle—The Constitution—It is our birthright—Who is there that would yield his inheritance without a struggle.

By Mr. Wm. W. Smith : Devotion to the Constitution : Integrity of purpose—these being the standards of belief, who would not exultingly stand and act by them ?

By H. W. Peronneau, Esq. : (one of the Committee) The memory of Dr. John Ramsay, late Senator from St. Pauls—Among the most zealous and fearless of the defenders of State Rights.

By Capt. Wesner : Carolina Doctrines—Enforced by Carolina principles—“ Millions for defence, not a cent for Tribute.”

By Dr. J. W. Simonds : The South-Carolina Rail Road—A laudable State Right—by the enterprize of individuals, it will succeed, without the aid of

the General Government—May it prove lucrative to Stockholders and beneficial to the State.

By Maj. J. Hamilton, Jun. : John Randolph of Roanoke—The most *brilliant* diamond among the 'genus of the Old Dominion ; should the South be destined to walk through trial and darkness, he will be near her, and the darker it grows, the more he will sparkle.

By Mr. R. S. Wish : The 1st of July, 1830—The second declaration of the Independence of S. Carolina—" Free Trade and State Rights."

By Mr. C. Jenkins : South-Carolina—May she firmly maintain those Rights which were guaranteed to her by the Constitution.

By Mr. John Bryan : " Millions for defence—not a cent for Tribute"—May the feelings which animated Carolina's distinguished son in making this reply to *foreign exaction*, find a response in the bosom of every citizen of South-Carolina in resisting *domestic oppression*.

By Mr. Alexander Mazyck : The Federal Government—Let it not be perverted to destroy that Union which it was designed to preserve.

By Mr. John Townsend, of St. John's, Colleton : The meritorious Editor of the Charleston Mercury—(the only press in our city which has from the beginning, ably and fearlessly fought the battles of the South, and vindicated the rights of an injured and insulted people.)

Though a foul faction may rage against him, the *planters* of the State will be more just, and appreciate, as they deserve, his valuable services.

By Mr. A. Strayne : A distinguished citizen of Massachusetts—Dr. Channing, whose able exposition of the principles of free trade, are as unanswerable as his talents are transcendent.

By Mr. John Izard Middleton, jr. : The Restrictive System, misnamed ' American'—Its object to make laws to assist money making, that a monied aristocracy may give law to the people ; its measures the pollution of the fountain head of derivative power ; the depravation and deception of the people.

By Mr. J. W. Hayne, of Columbia : Constitutional checks upon Power—Until the *veto* of her tribunes, Rome derived no profit from the expulsion of her Kings.

By Thomas Gadsden, Esq. : The American System—One of bounties and prohibitions by which

contributions are exacted from one portion of the Union, and bestowed as gratuities on another.

By D. Dawson : The State of South Carolina—Heaven guide our bark, for we are now among the breakers.

By a Subscriber—The Port of Charleston—May her commerce soon return as it was in 1816; have *her own merchants*, and not Northern agents.

By Mr. Alexander Ballund : Our National Rulers—May they study the science of Government, and not the arts of popularity.

By Mr. James G. Holmes: The Key-stone in the arch of our Reserved Rights, the right to judge of their infraction.

By Mr. Hugh McDonald : The three greatest achievements of Andrew Jackson—The preservation of the Republic at New-Orleans, the rejection of the Maysville Road Bill, and his patriotic declaration that the Union must and shall be sustained.

By Mr. A. Toomer : The State of South Carolina and the General Government—Remonstrances have not been respected, but actions *will or must*!

By Mr. Thos. Cousins: Our Senators, and Representatives in Congress—Their able, eloquent, and independent vindication of the rights and feelings of the South, entitle them to the gratitude and support of their constituents.

By Mr. Jno. M'Cormick: The Union of the States—An invaluable legacy from our ancestors. May it be perpetual, and may every attempt to dis-sever them meet the frowns of an indignant people.

By Mr. H. Paxton : Charleston—The restoration of its commerce and trade, and a return of prosperity to its citizens.

By Dr. De La Motta : When freemen meet to honor the services of statesmen, may they never forget the late Pride of Carolina—The lamented William Lowndes.

By Major Manigault: The memory of General Washington.

By Mr. Alexander Thompson Spring: The magic power of free trade—The Archimedes which raised this country, and the Atlas which supports it.

By Mr. B. Foster: The principles of South Carolina—They can never be wrong when sustained by the descendants of the Revolution.

By Mr. Joseph Turnbull: The South Carolina delegation to Congress—Firm and united in their

efforts, zealous and undaunted in their determination in opposing an unequal and unjust *law* calculated to depress our industry, depreciate our property, destroy our commerce with foreign nations, finally end in the ruin of the Southern States, the most valuable and productive parts of the continent

By Mr. John Robertson: The city of Charleston—A commerce with all nations unshackled by inordinate restriction, it aggrandizes the interest of the State, and gives energy and employment to all its citizens.

By Mr. W. R. Bee: South Carolina, right or wrong—*Wrong* has she been so long submitting; *right* will she now be in promptly acting.

By Mr. L. Wilson: The Tariff of 1828—A blot on our prosperity which can only be effaced by nullification.

By Mr. J. M. Bee: Truth—However false notions upon the subject of government, as upon all subjects, may for a time prevail, among free institutions, truth will ultimately triumph.

"Great is the majesty of Truth."

By Mr. Guynemer: The French population of the South—They will prove themselves either in peace or war worthy of their adopted country.

By Mr. J. D. Marks: The Constitution—May the hand that endeavours to impair it, be *palsied* in the attempt.

By Mr. Richard S. Wish: The Charleston delegation to our next Legislature—Like that of '76, may experience be the corner-stone of its wisdom, and patriotism adorn its work.

By Benjamin Elliott, Esq.: Judge Huger—A man and a name identified with every thing Carolinian.

By Mr. Benj. A. Markley: The American Republic—humanity's last hope. The mercenary legislators, who pervert its constitution to sordid purposes, and thereby endanger its existence, are the enemies of mankind.

By Mr. Isaac Emanuel: Gen. R. Y. Hayne, our Senator in Congress: May he stand as firm in the field of battle as he stood in Congress in defending the rights of the State of South-Carolina.

By Mr. E. Morris: The Tariffites—Say is there not some chosen curse, some hidden thunder in the stores of heaven, red with uncommon wrath, to blast the *men* who owe their *riches* to their country's ruin.

By Mr. Knepley: General Andrew Jackson—May his administration continue to be conducted in

righteousness, and prove eminently prejudicial to the enemies of our glorious Union.

By Mr. R. W. Seymour: May the interest of our common Country, be strengthened by the perpetuity of the *Union*.

By Mr. Dawson: The Union—May it be preserved so long as compatible with *State Rights*, and the honor of our Confederacy.

By Mr. Robert Wm. Roper: The Constitution of the United States—May a clear construction of its meaning and intent be established in General Convention. We will there acquire a knowledge of the National feeling, and learn whether our rights can be established by argument and justice; or whether they must be preserved by secession or the last appeal of Nations.

By Dr. Holmes Matthews: The Colonization Society—May their next President be an African King.

By Mr. Martin Roddy: Richard Shiel—Who with no weapons but justice and eloquence, gave a bill of rights to his country.

By Mr. Charles E. Miller; South-Carolina's Sons, native and adopted—The crisis has arrived when your *arms* as well as your *voices* are required to protect the State from a rapacious and unprincipled majority, and to restore the Constitution to its original meaning and intention.

By Mr. W. Blacklock: South-Carolina—Carolians from bondage will deliver Carolina.

The greatest enthusiasm prevailed throughout the day. A large number of the toasts, (particularly those of the most decided State Right character,) were drank with deafening and repeated plaudits. The company remained together until late, when they separated, with hearts full of devotion to the great principles which they had assembled to honor and affirm. It is to be hoped that this exhibition of "Public Opinion" will lead to reflection in the North, and to imitation in the South. Let the people of every Southern City do as Charleston has done—express their opinions and their feelings openly and fearlessly—and then there can be no doubt that our grievances will be redressed by a bloodless revolution.



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JAN

1989

Grantville, PA

